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VOL. XV. No. 9.

BOHN IN SAN DIEGO

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY'S NATION.
AL ORGANIZER HOLDS SUCCESSFUL MEETINGS.

Opens The Eyes of The Wage Workers to the True Significance of Trades Unionism—Indications Forecast Big Revolt In Favor of Industrial Organization—Carpenters Turn Down Gompers.

[Special Correspondence.]

San Diego, Cal., May 15.—National Organizer, Frank A. Bohn, arrived here last week and held four successful street meetings. The straight Socialist Labor Party and Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance principles, clearly and ably expounded by Comrade Bohn, were listened to with the closest attention by the large audiences which assembled to hear him each evening.

Industrial unionism was explained by the speaker to be the basis of the Socialist movement; the working class to-day were not capable of carrying on the industries of the nation by reason of not being organized on sound principles in the economic field; that industrial organization on correct principles was necessary to drill and educate the working class in self-imposed discipline and class-consciousness—two essentials necessary for their emancipation; that industrial unionism was the rudimentary form through which the industries of the nation would be carried on by and for the working class and the Socialist Republic established.

The speaker explained that a political organization alone was like a man trying to walk up hill on one leg; that the conquest of the political power was a means to an end, the end being the organization and establishment of the Working Class Republic—the co-operative commonwealth.

Comrade Bohn explained clearly the capitalist nature of municipal and government ownership, stating that such schemes were of no benefit whatever to the working class, and were only advocated by the middle class and "half-baked Socialists."

The speaker showed the character of the old-fashioned, back-number, "pure and simple" American Federation of Labor, pointing out the fact that under that form of organization the workers had been lead to defeat after defeat for the past fifteen or twenty years; that instead of organizing the workers in class solidarity it split them up in a struggle of craft against craft.

The members of the "Socialist" party here recently received an object lesson in the futility of "boiling from within" the pure and simple trades union, during the municipal election. The Federated Trades and Labor Council of this city (A. F. of L.) is, as elsewhere, run by the labor-lieutenants of the capitalist class, who show their utter contempt for the rank and file of the working class and their interests. As elsewhere, they are up to their necks in the rotten politics of the capitalist class, doing the bidding and furthering the interests of that class inside the union. Their tactics are of a nature which shuns the open, above-board, decency and honesty which characterizes true working class interests and politics. The "politics" of these labor fakirs consist in "discussing the interests of labor" (?) with the politicians of the capitalist class in dark hallways, behind doors, or in the offices and residences of the exploiters of labor and their henchmen. One of these fakirs has just been "recognized" (?) by being appointed on the board of public works by the recently elected mayor for "services rendered" in misleading the rank and file of the working class. This is the same fakir, who with other members of the "committee" recommended endorsement one of the two capitalist candidates running for mayor, and turned down the "Socialist" party man, who is a member of the Carpenters Union. The "committee" published a circular, and a statement to the public through the press, announcing their endorsements with the intent and purpose to deceive the working class into the belief that the "committee's" endorsement was the endorsement of the Federated Trades. The Federated Trades repudiated the "committee's" endorsement for mayor (apparently) publishing a statement in the press, over the signature of the president and secretary of that body to that effect, but also turned down the trade-union candidate of the "Socialist" party. The fakir who has been "recognized" for his dirty work is the same chau who said in a statement

F. N. TUTTLE.

MORE ORGANIZERS IN FIELD.
Olson and Williams Added to Bohn, Katz, Dillon and Gillhaus—Others to Follow.

Last week The People had the pleasure of reporting that beginning June 1, four Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance and Socialist Labor Party organizers, namely, Bohn, Katz, Dillon and Gillhaus, would be in the field, and predicted that ere the summer was over more would follow. To the foregoing list Comrade Arvid Olson should have been added. He is now touring the New England States under the auspices of the Scandinavian Socialist Labor Party Federation. As for the prediction, Comrade B. H. Williams is to undertake a three-months' tour of the Western States, beginning at Butte, Mont. The State Executive Committee of New Jersey is busy raising funds to start an organizer and party press solicitor on a tour of that State. Minnesota has made a request for speakers. Other States are bound to get the contagion. The times are ripe for it. Industrial Unionism and class-conscious working-class political action are in the air. They must find expression and organization through and in the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance and the Socialist Labor Party.

OHIO STATE CONVENTION.
Sections and members at large in Ohio: The State Convention will be held at Columbus on Decoration Day, May 30. The proceedings will begin at 10 o'clock a. m. sharp, and delegates should be prompt in attendance.

Fraternally,

James, Rugg, Sec.

The convention will be held at Fraternity Hall, 111-12 South High street. Reasonable accommodations can be had by delegates at either the Star or the American House. Open air meeting on convention night at Broad and High streets. If weather is bad in convention hall. The public invited to both convention and meeting.

Arrangement Committee.

WEEKLY PEOPLE



NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MAY 27, 1905.

PRICE TWO CENTS 50 CENTS PER YEAR

THE FAMILY

CAPITALISM DESTROYS IT AND BREEDS PROSTITUTION.

Soup Houses and Day Nurseries Substitutes for the Household—"Hettowns" and "She-Towns" and Their Immoral Results—Capitalist Community of Wives.

The labor of woman in productive pursuits betokens the total destruction of the family life of the workingman, without substituting for it a higher form of family relationship. The capitalist system of production does not yet generally destroy the single household of the workingman, but robs it of all that is bright, and leaves only its dark sides.

The activity of woman to-day in industrial pursuits does not mean to her freedom from household duties; it means to her an increase of her former burdens by a new one. But we cannot serve two masters. The household of the workingman suffers whenever his wife must help to earn the daily bread. What present society puts in the place of the individual household and family which it destroys, are miserable substitutes: SOUP HOUSES AND DAY NURSERIES, where the officials of the physical and mental sustenance of the rich are cast to the lower classes.

Socialists are charged with an intent to abolish the family. We do know that every system of production has had a special form of household, to which corresponds a special system of family relationship. We do not consider the existing form of the family the highest possible nor the last utterance upon the subject; and we do expect that a new and improved social system may yet develop a new and higher form of family relationship. But to hold this view is a very different thing from striving to dissolve all family bonds. They who DO destroy the family bonds—who not only mean to but who in fact DO destroy them right under our own eyes—they are, not the Socialists, but the CAPITALISTS themselves.

Many a slave-holder has before torn husband from wife, and parents from grown-up children; but the capitalists have improved upon the abominations of slavery: they tear the suckling from the breast of its mother, and compel her to trust it to strangers' hands. And yet a society in which hundreds of thousands of such instances are of daily occurrence, a society whose luminaries promote "benevolent" institutions for the purpose of making easy the separation of the mothers from their babes, such a society has the effrontery to accuse the Socialists of contemplating the abolition of the family simply because they, basing their opinion upon the fact that the "family" has ever been one of the reflexes of the system of production, foresee that further changes in that system must also result in a more perfect system of family relationships.

Hand in hand with the accusation on the subject of the family bond goes the accusation that Socialists aim at a community of wives. This charge is as false as the other. Socialists, on the contrary, maintain that just the reverse of a community in wives, and of sexual oppression and license, to wit, ideal love, will be the foundation of matrimonial connections in a Socialist Commonwealth, and that pure love can only prevail in such a social system. What, on the other hand, do we see to-day?

The irrational system of modern production tears the sexes apart. It builds up SHE-towns in New England and HET-towns in the mining districts of Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, and the further West, thereby directly promoting and inciting prostitution as a natural and inevitable result. Furthermore, helpless women, forced to earn their living in the factories, shops and mines, fall a prey to capitalist cupidity; the capitalist takes advantage of their inexperience, offers them wages too slight for their support, and hints at, or even brazenly refers them to prostitution as a means of supplementing their income. Everywhere, the increase of female labor in industry is accompanied by an increase of prostitution. In the modern State, where Christianity is preached and piety is at a premium, many a "thriving" branch of industry is found, whose workingwomen are paid so poorly that they would be compelled to starve unless they prostituted themselves; and wonderful to say, in such instances the capitalist will ever be heard to protest that these small wages are indispensable to enable him to compete successfully in the market, and to maintain his

establishment in a "thriving" condition.

Prostitution is as old as the contrast between rich and poor. At one time however, prostitutes constituted a middle class between beggars and thieves; they were then an article of luxury, which society indulged in, but the loss of which would in no way have endangered its existence. To-day, however, it is no longer the females of the slums alone, but WORKING women who are compelled to sell their bodies for money. This later sale is no longer simply a matter of luxury, it has become one of the foundations upon which production is carried on. Under the capitalistic system of production, PROSTITUTION BECOMES A PILLAR OF SOCIETY. What the defenders of this social system falsely charge Socialists with, is the very thing they are guilty of themselves. Community of wives is a feature of capitalism. Indeed, such deep roots has this system of community of wives cast in modern society that its representatives agree in declaring prostitution to be a NECESSARY thing. They cannot understand that the abolition of the proletariat implies the abolition of prostitution. So deep are they sunk in intellectual stagnation that they cannot conceive a social system without community of wives.

But be it noted, community of wives has ever been an invention of the upper layers of society; never of the proletariat. The community of wives is one of the modes of exploiting the proletariat; it is not Socialism; it is exact opposite of Socialism.

HAMMER BLOWS.

(From The Sydney, Australia, People.)

Orthodox science does not want to abolish poverty; it only concerns itself how to save the capitalists from the logical Nemesis of their own creation—the profit system.

True social science (Socialism) will abolish poverty by abolishing parasitism and converting the parasites into decent citizens who will soon see how delusive a notion it was to think that they were the employers of labor. They will be given the most convincing proof that human necessity is the real employer by having to work up their own sap or going hungry to bed.

Socialism has nothing to do with religion. A man can believe what he likes about the future or about a supreme power, but should he attempt to force his views on others or in any way to try to interfere with, or hamper the social or economic freedom of others, he must be treated as an enemy and stamped out with as little remorse as any other vermin.

Saving in the mean capitalist sense means starved bodies, starved minds, and stunted development. Starved soil, which has been denied by its "saving" owner those elements necessary to healthy production, produces the dank, pestilential and poisonous crimes, meannesses, treacheries, hypocrisies, hatreds, strifes, and cowardliness that distinguish the present from all other ages, and all this because a handful of people own the earth and all that it contains, and who recognizing that the only possible method of increasing their wealth is by pinching the bellies and stunting the brains of human beings vie with each other in every country and claim as to who shall "save" most out of the human body.

Blind as bats are they to the fact that Nemesis in the shape of a rapidly falling market is bringing "ruin" to themselves and to the whole world with giant strides. "Whom the gods wish to destroy, they first make mad," and the nemesis of this madness is profit, saving, centuries.

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True thrift is the consuming by human beings of the whole product of their toil, thus building up healthy bodies, high mentality, pure morals, and a clean wholesome environment, in which social and individual virtues will grow, and in which vices will wither and die for want of nourishment. This, of course, cannot be until the whole people own the earth and the tools of production. The ballot will bring it.

BOHN'S CALIFORNIA ITINERARY.

Sacramento, 24th-30th.

Reno, Nev., May 31 to June 2.

San Francisco and surroundings, thirty days.

San Jose and surroundings, ten days.

Eureka, ten days.

Definite dates for last three later.

THE SOUTHWEST

PRODUCES THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKINGMAN PAR EXCELLENCE.

Oldest Section in Country Rich Physiographically and Economically—Now in Turmoil Over Modern Proletarian Questions—National Organizer Frank Bohn's Impressions and Experiences.

Tucson, Cal., May 18.—Taking into consideration all those characteristics which enter into the making up of a "Section", the great Southwest in the most interesting portion of our (?) country. As to territory it includes Texas and the Mexican sessions of 1848-1853, nearly a million square miles in all, or about one-third of the area of the United States proper. Physiographically, it is as diversified as the continent. Vast grassy plains, endless deserts, mountains where winter reigns perpetually, and fertile valleys covered with a profusion of tropical verdure,—are all included.

Historically, the section deserves close study. It was the first part of what is now the United States to be extensively settled by Europeans. The exploration of New Mexico occurred in the early part of the sixteenth century and settlement followed in the latter part.

In the old Spanish church of Santa Fe the Brothers of the Christian schools point with pride to old paintings which were pierced by Indian arrows during an attack on the town more than two centuries ago. Near this church is what is reputed to be the oldest dwelling house erected by Europeans in the United States—a low adobe hut, the soft walls of which would not outlast five years of New England rains and frosts.

The Spaniards pushed their settlements beyond the highest mountains and across the loneliest deserts. While on the Eastern coast the English and Dutch traders were constantly stirring up wars against the Indians, the Spaniards usually lived in peace with them, developing a school system for them, and converting them to Christianity. And so they lived for several sleepy centuries.

Then came the change, as all things change,—even the length of trousers,—during the period of the French Revolution. When Napoleon conquered Spain the ruling race in Spanish America, of course, refused to recognize the suzerainty of the "atheistic revolutionist." When "order" was re-established in Europe, it became evident that the microbe of revolt had invaded even the dry old adobe towns on the Rio Grande, the Colorado, and south to the La Plata. Mexico became "free" just in time for the next act of the great historic drama.

Not long since, some old women appeared to be very much shocked at the "entry of the United States into world politics", in a word, "expansion." They had not reflected that the history of the United States can be interpreted only as one long series of "expansions", about which central figure the scientific historian systematically groups all other political phenomena.

It occurred that in 1830 the Slaveocracy of the South needed new territory, and for two reasons. In the first place, new slave territories must be secured to offset the free territories which were clamoring for statehood in the North. In the second place, good new land is a possession precious to the human heart, be the social system what it may; and the slave system was wasteful of land. So bands of adventurous Southerners entered Texas. When they numbered a few thousands it was time to "strike for liberty", declare their independence, and apply for admission as one of the United States. In 1844 Polk was elected on an "expansion" platform by Southern influence and Texas was admitted the next year. It was the chief cause of the Mexican war which followed.

Lucky strike! Just as our capitalist government in 1808 took the Philippines for "civilization's sake," so the Slaveocracy in the forties seized, beside Texas, all of New Mexico, Arizona, California, Nevada, Utah, and part of what is now Colorado and Oklahoma, nearly a million square miles in all. When Alexander the Great conquered the East, or William the Norman seized England, they both took their spoils, and that was the end of the matter. Our own dear country, however, has always "drifted" into town and didn't wish to join at once. Others felt that as much

as \$15,000,000, or two and one-half cents per acre.

And so the population of the Southwest consists of successive strata, beginning with Indian and Spanish, and topped off with Chinese and Italians. In a gambling den or on a street corner in Arizona at a Socialist meeting one can see, beside these, Negroes, white people from "The States", and representatives of all the nations of Europe. The Romance peoples never were particular about color or the matter of a racial type. The superintendent of the government school for Indians at Santa Fe called a twelve-year-old boy to show me about the place. "From what tribe is he?" I asked. "Half Pueblo," said the superintendent. "And the other half?" He held up his hands in despair. "How am I to know?" In its final amalgamation this people should be most versatile and cosmopolitan.

Industrially, there is but one Far West. It includes every Rocky Mountain and Pacific coast State, with British Columbia and Northern Mexico. Throughout this vast region, half as large as Europe, there are mines being worked, ranches improved, railroads a-building, and irrigation plants being developed. There is much less difference in climatic conditions in the West than in the East. Montana probably differs less from New Mexico than New York from Virginia. The worker may spend his winter in the mines of Arizona or Sonora. Until the coming of spring he cuts timber in the hills. Then, perhaps losing his job because some evening he climbed on a pile of logs and made a Socialist speech to the boys, he takes a notion that sea air would be good for his health and ships at San Pedro for the Columbia River country. If he gets mixed up in a strike in Washington, or lands in a "bum town" in British Columbia, he sets out for pastures anew. And few workmen are there in the West who have not made these rounds. If he ever settles down to enjoy the felicities of domestic life, it is some time, when well along in years, he runs afoul an old lady who is keeping a rooming house and wants a man about to "do chores" and save her frosty.

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The effect of this powerful social fact upon the Labor Movement we have already touched upon. One very notable effect is that at Socialist street meetings there are twice as many listeners and four times as many buyers of literature as in the East. On the other hand, it is much harder to develop and maintain an organization. At Bakersfield I sold 185 pamphlets in three days. But when I talked to a small group about organization, one was going elsewhere soon, two or three had just "drifted" into town and didn't wish to join at once. Others felt that as much as \$15,000,000, or two and one-half cents per acre.

WOOD CARVERS

DISPLACED BY MACHINERY START COLONY TO PERPETUATE THEMSELVES AND THEIR ART.

One Machine Enables a Green "Hand" to Become an Expert in Two Weeks—Another is Invented That Does Away With Polishers and Finishers—"To the Woods" for the Hand Workers.

The Real World

Written for The People by Karl Magnus.)

Thomas Carter and Charles Kelihi live in one of the Twin Cities. They were faithful chums at school, where they shared each other's joys and sorrows, study and play, and together ran the antlet of boyish mischief and youthful folly. The greatest cause of their best friendship was probably that they shared also their life's highest ambition, namely, "to see the world." This had taken hold of them very early. Just then and in what manner neither could remember; but, as the years passed, it developed from desire to passion, from passion to mania. Mentally they would explore cities, states, countries and continents. In imagination they visited early every historic spot on earth, and their hearts responded to the joys and sorrows of the human race. When, however, in the midst of their enthusiasm they would realize that they were still in the banks of the Mississippi, they invariably consoled themselves with: "We shall see it all some day!"

Charles' folks were as poor as the proverbial church mice, and his own rages, when grown up, barely supported him. Yet he "hoped," but what his hopes were he could not himself have told. Tom's prospects were built upon a sounder basis. His father died while he was yet in his teens and left him some property. Tom banked his share. When he was through school he held a position as bookkeeper at a good salary and by this time his project had such hold on him that he managed to have his bank account increased year by year. So time rolled by and the two chums were nearer thirty than twenty.

One evening, when they met as usual, Tom told Charles that "the women at home" would give him peace no longer but insisted that he should marry and settle down and hence, as he could do nothing until he had seen the world, it was his intention, as he had money enough to take him through, to start as soon as he could get ready. Charles' excitement was intense while Tom made his preparations and he realized that he would be mercilessly left behind, as in his case, no more than in Micawber's, did anything seem ready to turn up.

The appointed day came at last and as there was no other way, Charles took a jolly good-by of his lucky chum when he left for New York in a Pullman car. But that same night there was consternation in Charles' home. The

cause was a rough note, which stated that they should not wait for supper for him, as he had hired out to a railway company and was about to be shipped out West, where he meant to work his way in the world. The two friends lost track of each other at once, nor was either much heard from at home. Presumably they were too busy seeing the great world!

After nearly three years Tom returned. That he had squandered every possession every gossip in the world knew; but what he had seen and done in the world no one ever found out much about, as Tom was no longer the frank, open fellow of his youth. His money had gone to the world and to the winds had gone his happy disposition. Despondency had taken its place. He worked not; but lived at home and spent the days walking miles very fast, speaking to, or recognizing nobody, always keeping his eyes on the sidewalk. The children called him "Mad Tom," and his story was told at every hearth as a warning to boys and girls to be satisfied with their lot and not hanker to go out in the world to play gentlemen and ladies.

Again the years rolled by. One day when Tom was out for one of his "mad runs" along the avenue a merry voice suddenly rang out:

"Hallo Tom, old boy! Lucky meeting! How are you and how is the wide world? Tell me all about it!"

It was Charles home for a short visit from his quest of the wonders of the world. He had dropped his satchel on the sidewalk and was shaking Tom's hand with both his own. Such hearty greetings Tom's madness could not withstand.

"The world," said he scrutinizing his old friend with his keen, dark eyes, "it is a disappointment from zone to zone. The cities are all like our own; long hard streets that make your feet ache, high brick walls that make your eyes ache, rushing, bustling, pushing throngs that may your brain ache. The museums are full of 'wonders'; but when you have seen one you have seen a hundred and the wonder gives place to monotony. Ruins and other places of history and scenic notoriety are exploited by sharks and the life depicted in the books is buried with past generations. In Switzerland, I saw hard submissive toilers; and the spirit of Wilhelm Tell and Arnold Winkelried is but a myth. The midnight sun impressed me as a ghost of the old Viking spirit long since

vanded from the Northern Lands. Rome, where so many proud spirits have dwelt in days of yore, is infested by beggars, submission, filth, superstition, mockery and corruption. Greece is not even a shadow of its glorious and inspiring days. The mummies of Egypt have been too long dead and the pyramids are as dumb as common cemeteries.

The Holy Land is the home of pillage, rascality and crime. Everywhere the same sameness. 'Do others or they will do you' is the great motto of our great world. Hindustan, China, Japan, Australia, the Pacific Islands, everywhere the same temper has penetrated. The world is a great banking house! A commercial institution! A mad stock exchange!

"While one nation may excel a little in one thing another does in another, yet shake them all up and you would not know which is which. It is loathsome to me! It bores me! I assure you, Charles, the great world we used to long for is but a chimera. The life and lustre put into the books either never existed or vanished with the great struggle between barbarism and civilization. It went down with Marathon, Chalon, and Tours; and now this blessed trumpeted civilization has unified countries and continents and the glory of the ancient world no longer exists."

"Doesn't it?" cried Charles, whose excitement had increased to fever heat during Tom's speech. "I tell you it does! But I realize what is amiss with you. You went as a traveler and paid your money to the world's sharks for guiding you to escape 'the world' and you have thoroughly escaped it.

"Museums! mummies!!—fiddlesticks! is that the world? You have looked at houses, streets, ruins, mountains and waterfalls! is that the world? You have visited peoples and nations, seen their fabrics and the color of their hair and skin! is that life? Was that what used to inspire us? Never! In imagination we lived their life, fought their struggles, that was why the world so charmed and inspired us."

"But I tell you, all that exists no longer," roared Tom with an angry impatience at his old chum.

"Doesn't it? I tell you it does!" said Charles, picking up his satchel from the sidewalk. "Let us walk on. Listen! I left home when you did, rather I ran away. I did not go as a traveler. Penniless I was shipped along with other human chattel to work on a railroad in the West. I have seen the world too; at

least I have seen the country pretty thoroughly from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from Cape Nome to the Gulf of Mexico, and I have not only seen this world but I have lived in it! I have experienced the life of the American people and a wonderful life it is, I assure you, Tom.

"Listen," continued he, "I will tell you of the world you have escaped, for while you have been chewing at the hard shell of the world and found no nourishment in it, I have found the kernel and it is rich and nutritious.

"Why did we find such glory in the Pyramids? Not merely because they are huge blocks of stone; but because every inch of stone piled upon another represents the sweat and toil, the misery, abuse, starvation, suffering and slavery of a race! Because forged with them and as indestructible as they is the sagacity of that People that was to endure forty years of life in the desert in order to win their promised land; the people that for twelve centuries have been without a country and yet have played and are playing a great part in the world's destiny. But did pyramid building cease when Moses led his people out of Egypt? Have you gone to Egypt to look at pyramids and missed those that are being raised at home by your own enslaved fellow countrymen? Listen Tom, every inch of stone, steel, wood and other material in our modern buildings, bridges, railroads, ships, engines, machines, etc., represents the sweat and toil, misery, starvation, blood, bone and marrow of the slaves of to-day. To me, I have seen these modern slaves work in the open sun while it was over 100 degrees in the shade until they would drop in the street perhaps dead or paralyzed for life. In the railroad camps men drudge for a pittance that barely keeps soul and body together. In the logging camps men work in wet and cold and filth that defies description. In the mines men dig and dive and delve, shut away from the invigorating sunshine and forced to inhale poisonous gases from morning to night. In the factories I have known women to work under such physical sufferings from untold causes as could never have been surpassed by the female slaves of the far East. Throughout the length and breadth of the land but perhaps most particularly in the cotton mills in the South, I have seen one kind of slavery that no ancient slavery could equal—namely, modern child slavery! Aye, Tom, actual baby slavery! Upon these pyramids

amids, these mountains of modern grandeur, is forged the character of the race or rather the class that in the near future is destined to accomplish the grand struggle for humanity's final emancipation.

"Have you been at Calcutta, Tom?—Yes?—so have I. At least I have been in 'the black hole of Calcutta' and it is a marvel I came out alive. I worked in a Wyoming mine somewhere over a year ago when it exploded and 338 men died instantly or through the subsequent suffocation. Past history is tranquil compared with the thrilling pages of to-day. Of course, you have been at Thermopylae? Do you think that all the brave Spartans perished there? No, my boy, the world is full of them. Several millions are facing death at any moment upon our industrial battlefield.

"And you mourn because the great struggle between barbarism and civilization is over? Perhaps, but the great struggle of Progress continues! In that struggle the grandest act yet remains to be played. It is the grandest because it is the final one in the brute struggle for existence, the closing struggle between slavery and freedom, between the world's workers and the world's shirkers—it is the modern class struggle! There is a fermentation going on in our world of to-day as great as in Babylon during the prophetic days of Daniel, as in Athens when Demosthenes thundered forth his Philippics, as in Rome when the voice of Cicero stirred the populace in the Forum, as in France during the memorable days of Robespierre, Danton and Marat.

"And do you think, Tom, that the persecutions that used to so arouse our anger against tyranny, and our sympathy for struggling humanity are ended? The cross, the fatal cap and the pyre have been abolished; but execution and prison do yet exist and what is worse—the whip of hunger and loss of employment. I have seen Nero's cruelties in Idaho, the Proscriptions of Sulla in Colorado and the Spanish Inquisition on every latitude and longitude in the land.

"And it is not only America that is thus disturbed by violent activity but the entire world has felt its passion. The greatest Marathon, Chalon and Tours are yet to be enacted. The coming days will contain more life and action than all the past from the days of Nebuchadnezzar to those of George Washington.

"Come with me, Tom, I will introduce you to the grand world of to-day—The Real World—which you so far have missed."

Is Capitalism Immortal?

(Thomas H. Jackson, member Socialist Labor Party, Buffalo, N. Y., in May Typographical Journal.)

In reading Brother Maloney's latest article in "The Journal," entitled "No Hope for Socialism," I am again struck by the same lack of argument and logical reasoning that has characterized his previous letters upon the social problem.

To me, the presentation of views upon the problem compared with which all others are subordinate, and submitting them to the judgment of the working class, a class which, judged by its works, is by far the most intelligent in society, in such a haphazard, prophetic and conclusion-jumping manner, is altogether deplorable.

For example: "Capital is only saved labor," is a juicy piece of information thrown out for the delectation of men who labor—but have no capital. This barrenness of argument seems to impeach the intelligence of the many thousands who read our "Journal." The intricate mechanism of a watch would be beautifully exemplified in this sentence—a watch is only saved labor; yet capital, intricate and complex, so intricate and complex that Ricardo, Adam Smith and all other political economists, down to (or up to) Karl Marx, devoted their whole lives to its analysis. From a standpoint of mere correctness, let's look at this definition superficially, a little less superficially than does Brother Maloney.

Brother Maloney makes this chivalrous statement: "Ninety per cent. of the capitalists perform useful labor." (Is the ninety per cent. from the census, too?) And 'tis true; the labor of the counterfeiter, of course. Apply the test of everyday experience and common sense to this. Take a representative industry, not your little 2x4 concern, for the cockroaches have been gobbled up these ten years by the trusts; take your Douglas, for instance, in Brother Maloney's own state, the so-called Socialist smasher. Look in his factories. Men, women, and little children making shoes—saving capital—over them are foremen; over them superintendents; over them managers, assistants and general. In the offices, where not a shoe is handled nor a machine touched, are more workers. What are they all doing, these latter? Are they the muscle and sinew of industry? For shame, Brother Maloney! Admit that your class has brains; admit that their brains are necessary to capitalist production, while the ninety per cent. of seething mammoth intellects are either enjoying the fruit of

the workers to the utmost, or are at the state and national capitals busy legislating or buying up legislators to legislate in the interests of the truck horses of industry, and incidentally tabling their eight-hour and child-labor bills or declaring them unconstitutional. Every day experience teaches us that the functions of the capitalist class is distinctly apart from direct or indirect production of wealth. True, many of them are called directors, directors who do not direct, like the home-guard generals who do not command. Although he is of no service to society to-day, yet the capitalist is of immeasurable value to future society, for, as certain as twelve points make a pica quad, just as certain is the capitalist organizing and centralizing the industries to the point where the useful producers of those industries may lay hold of them and collectively own and operate them for the benefit of all who labor, as they are to-day collectively operating them for the benefit of those who do own them. How and by what means of brigandage this work of organization of industry is being carried on, Lawson and many others have fully shown. Without this work of the capitalist the Socialist would be an absurd dreamer. Ply your spade industriously Comrade Rockefeler, that capitalism may have a decent and speedy burial!

The capitalist system had its birth in the middle ages, during the golden age of labor, when the tools of production were so simple and cheap as to be within reach and ownership of the worker. Being master of his tools, he was master of his product and master of himself. Yet the development of the tool into the gigantic machine of to-day divorced the worker from his means of wealth production and consequently from his liberty. Machinery and division of labor so simplified production that the skilled mechanic was replaced by the cheap, unskilled labor of the woman and the child, leaving the husband and father to be turned adrift upon the face of the earth, there to become the tramps, vagabonds and criminals of civilization. Con-

tinuing its growth, the system of capital has advanced from childhood, through middle age, and has to-day reached its dotage. Its race is run. Its useful mission has been fully performed. The drama of capitalism is approaching its grand climax. The workers have fully solved the problem of production, but the brainy capitalists have not solved the problem of distribution. Nations which yesterday were the world's markets are to-day gripping each other's throats for the last market of the world, China. What a pitiful and ghastly tragedy of suicide must the capitalist system enter upon in its old age. The last hope of capitalist nations must be the dreaded "yellow peril," before which the capitalist organizing and centralizing the industries to the point where the useful producers of those industries may lay hold of them and collectively own and operate them for the benefit of all who labor, as they are to-day collectively operating them for the benefit of those who do own them. How and by what means of brigandage this work of organization of industry is being carried on, Lawson and many others have fully shown. Without this work of the capitalist the Socialist would be an absurd dreamer. Ply your spade industriously Comrade Rockefeler, that capitalism may have a decent and speedy burial!

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History of a Proletarian Family... Across the Ages

By Eugene Sue.

Translated by Daniel De Leon.

In order to understand our own time it is absolutely necessary that we know something of the times that have gone before. The generations are like links in a chain, all connected. The study, by which we can learn what has been done and thought before us, is history, and this is perhaps the most fascinating of all studies. Many historians fill their books with nothing but battles and the doings of "great" men, but happily this style of writing history is becoming obsolete, and the history of the people is taking its place. Socialism is more concerned with the history of the people than of the people we can better understand how the great men achieved prominence. Eugene Sue has given us in the form of fiction the best universal history extant. It is a monumental work entitled "The Mysteries of the People," or "History of a Proletarian Family Across the Ages."

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Burning Question of Trades Unionism IN YIDDISH

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capitalist class. What a club it is in the hands of employers in driving down wages, for, organized or unorganized, the man on the street keeps wages down, on the average, to the point of bare subsistence. Every scale submitted by organized capital is signed with the gauntlet appellation of the starving wage slave brooding over all.

Brother Maloney says: "Individualism, the greatest force in the world, will always oppose it" (Socialism). If my entering this discussion meant the "cleaning up" of an opponent, I would ask for no better slab to lay Br'er Maloney upon than this. Individualism always will oppose Socialism, always has, and while it exists, always will. The two are antagonistic and must come to blows. In the struggle between the two in the past Socialism has been victorious—in every case. Where is individualism now?

The basis of society in every epoch is the economic, the production of wealth. The construction of society is determined by the methods of producing wealth. Slave production arranged the social units consistent with itself. Serfdom did the same for feudal society, and capitalist production has done for present society what chattel slavery and feudalism did for their respective epochs. Therefore, if society is to be individualistic or socialistic, either individualism or collectivism must be the basis of the method of production. In the boyhood of capitalism individual production was the rule. Individual capitalists competed simply as individuals, wage workers competed for jobs simply as individuals. But this competitive warfare forced capitalists to combine and organize. Organized capital is the result—the trust. Likewise, the workers, finding individual bargaining for wages suicidal, formed their labor organizations, and the trade union is the result. Thus competitive individualism was the mother of combination of both capital and labor. As a trade unionist, who has joined his labor organization to resist the downward tendency of wages, how can Brother Maloney advocate a return to individualism? Why not be consistent with his argument and support Parry in his doctrine of laissez faire, which gives capital full power to organize and would deny labor "equal rights"? Yet when Brother Jarrold charged Br'er Maloney with being of Parry's stripe, the charge was unjust—to Parry, for that apostle of Spencer agrees with him that Socialism, or, as he has it, collectivism, must shortly take the place of competitive warfare, while Br'er Maloney has a permanent idea of permanent capitalism. No, no, Br'er Maloney, individualism is practically extinct to-day. A pair of shoes is no more produced by the cobbler hand-craftsman. Shoes, as all other commodities, are produced by thousands of workers, collectively. Would you go back to the cobbler shop? It is to laugh! Our masters' apologists prate of individualism. Where is the workingman's individualism? Let him exert

that powerful Catholic church will also oppose it" (Socialism). Undoubtedly it will. Did it not arise in its might to crush the pretensions of the infant capitalist class in its attempt to overthrow feudalism and feudal power? Apply the test of history to this. When commercialism, fostered by discoveries, was laying the foundation of the present capitalist system, when the serfs were turned off the land to make room for sheep, they flocked to the cities, there to become the propertyless wage slaves in the factories; the common lands were expropriated from the people and the church, her estates, her monasteries, her beautiful abbeys, her wealth of gold and silver were confiscated by this embryo capitalist class to be converted into profits. The church, which had been the educator of the people, the sanctuary of the oppressed, and the succor of the poor and needy, was stripped by capitalism of, not only her economic wealth, but also of her state power. Is it any wonder she fought to maintain the feudal regime? Yet, nobly and courageously as she fought against capitalism, her enemy rose triumphant over her. History incidentally discloses the secret of the "original accumulation" of the present class whose abstemious lives cause them to pose as the ascetics of modern society. Notwithstanding the pillage of the church, it seems that she has forgiven and forgotten, but were I a churchman, I would oppose the capitalist system for the reason that its roots were imbedded in the economic and political power of the church; being simply a wage worker, I oppose it with all my might—the might of one—for the roots, the trunk, every branch and every absorbent function of the capitalist system is sucking the life blood from my class—the working class.

That this system must follow the inevitable law of evolution, birth, maturity, decay and death, I am firmly convinced. Perfect organization of the working class can only be the means of building up the new and better structure. But, after all, these great problems are never argued out. They must be worked out or fought out to their conclusion. The result of this one must be dictated by the intelligence of the great majority—the working class.

"WOR. MAN'S PARADISE"

Not as Rosy as Pictured According to Its Secretary of Labor.

The secretary of labor recently sent to the minister of labor (Mr. Seddon) a report on high wages and their exploitation, which was laid on the table of the House of Representatives by leave. It states that it may fairly be said without boasting that the industrial conciliation and arbitration act of New Zealand has drawn the attention of the civilized world to the progressive legislation of this colony. The very large number of inquiries made of the labor department by the people in America and Europe, combined with the extensive literature relating to the subject of its laws recently published abroad (particularly in the United States) are proofs of how widely the subject engages the attention of persons occupied in the study or administration of socio-political matters, and that it therefore will be little short of a world-wide calamity should anything cause false inferences to be drawn from the effects or results of institutions working under any but fair and impartial conditions.

The secretary says the New Zealand arbitration act is not working under such conditions, nor is its beneficial power available to the full in the cause of public utility. The work of the court is being neutralized by malignant collateral action. It is in the position of a single regiment or division of any army sent far into the enemy's country without reserves or supports. Or, to use a still closer metaphor, it is like a fair edifice, the foundations of which are being destroyed by cunning miners working from every side. The general effect of the act has been, the secretary says, to benefit the whole community by insuring to the employer stability of business and output, to the worker higher wages and shorter hours, and to the general public that continuity of trade and business which was formerly too often dislocated by the mischievous waste of strikes and lockouts. These results, he says, have been of great advantage to the whole colony, as the great prosperity shown by every indication of the economic barometer denotes. Such effects are, however, rapidly becoming neutralized, and soon only the empty shell of an apparent prosperity will be left if the unbridled covetousness of a few is not regulated and checked.

None of the necessities of life cost more than in former years and their price is rapidly advancing out of all proportion to the rise in wages of the producers. Of course the rise in wages given by the arbitration court to certain classes of workers is asserted, by some, to be the reason for the increased cost of articles and services, but this argument runs in a vicious circle, for it is the increased cost of necessities which has caused the concession of higher wages. There has been no fair ration between the rise in wages and the rise in prices. The fact is there is a third man in the game besides the employer and employee, and it is this third man—the nonproducing ground landlord of city and suburban property—who alone will be the winner in the end.

The chief devourer of the wages of the worker and of the profits of the employer is exorbitant rent. That an equitable payment for the use of land and dwellings should be made to their owners is, under the present constitution of society, proper and desirable, but a greedy, rack-renting system, which transfers gradually almost the whole earnings of the industrial and commercial classes to the pockets of the nonproducer, is indefensible. It partakes of three characteristics—it is unauthorized taxation by private persons, it is tribute to a conqueror, and it is the ransom of a captive. In Wellington (and in Auckland, too) rents have not only increased during the last ten years, but they have done so in an utter disproportion to earning. It is difficult for a clerk or foreman at \$1.217 a year to get a decent house under \$7.20 a week, which means about one-third of his income. A laborer earning (taking wet days, illness, etc.) on an average \$7.20 a week must pay at least \$8.43 to \$9.22 a week for a house; he, too, finds that a roof over his head costs one-third of his income. This may be accepted as a general rule in the capital city, viz., one-third of the income goes to the landlord. The shopkeeper, who by industry and capability improves his business and enhances the value of his holdings, discovers as soon as his short lease expires that if he wishes renewal he must sacrifice the profits of his business. In a certain city there is a striking instance of this process. A small piece of land, now in the center of the town, was bought many years ago (almost by chance) for a person living in England, who paid \$243 for it. That person has drawn \$3,803 a year from it for twenty years, and now receives \$6,722 a year therefrom. The tribute levied on the struggling laborers of New Zealand by this absentee

would, if capitalized, "stagger humanity". It represents no honest profit on investment.

Necessaries, such as meat, bacon, eggs, coal, firewood, etc., have also risen in price considerably, and have helped to minimize any advance in workers' wages. These, however, are more defensible in their deductions than unfair rentals, because some part of the profits made in such cases goes to producers. Unfortunately for the operative or laborer, he is seldom the owner of the means of production, and the point he is made to realize is that mutation is far more costly than it was ten years ago, while the increased checks for frozen meat, freights, commissions, etc., do not come his way. Nevertheless, a certain number of his class are employed in the production of distribution of meat, and therefore advances in its price do not stand on the same footing as those of ground rents. Even the farmers indirectly suffer by such mulcting of wages, for less farm produce is consumed when the spending power of the masses is checked and directed into private banking accounts of the owners of city and suburban lands.

With the above consideration in mind, the secretary very earnestly asked the Government to take into consideration the question of legislating for the acquirements of suburban lands and the housing of the citizens. Whether such consideration should take the direction of State or municipal control of compulsorily acquired properties the secretary did not presume to suggest. Some scheme having for its determination the breaking up of the land ring, however, in the opinion of the secretary, should be earnestly pondered over. Just as a well-known European acquired by a imperial ukase possession of petroleum wells, and so controlled the market in order to prevent the cupidity of individuals destroying the transport service, etc., of the Empire (carried on by oil-burning steamers), so in New Zealand there is, the secretary opines, reason for the State to interfere to prevent the exploitation of its citizens and the draining of the earnings of the community into the possession of a few private persons.

The secretary thinks it is beyond doubt that the advantages bestowed by progressive legislation are gradually being nullified, and will eventually be destroyed by certain adverse influences, and therefore these influences must be sought out and neutralized fearlessly and effectively in the interests of all classes of workers, i. e., of the vast majority of the citizens of the colony.

F. Dillingham, Consul-General, Auckland, New Zealand.

JAPANESE SOCIALISM

Workers Arrested While "Reviewing the Cherry Blossoms"—Propaganda in Japan.

[From the Tokio "Chokugen", sole organ of Japanese Socialist.]

On April 2d many hundreds of our comrades assembled at the Ueno Park for "reviewing the cherry blossoms" as they call it. Every one of them carried a red flag in his hand and cried out all at once "Shakwaishugi Banzai!" (Long live Socialism!) Policemen suddenly sprung up from every quarter and ordered the demonstrators to disperse, arresting in the meantime about thirty of them, including two women, who were playing the most active part in this demonstration. So it ended just as it ended each year.

On the night of the 3d the Socialist lecture meeting was held in the Y. M. C. A. Hall. In spite of heavy rain, there assembled an audience of about four hundred. The speakers were Comrades Matsuzaki, Yamada, Kinoshita and Saji. Comrade Kinoshita is one of the most eloquent orators in Japan. He spoke on that night about the history of the Labor Movement in this country, and said in conclusion that it was nothing other than our Socialist Movement that would spring up most forcibly after the Russo-Japanese war. Comrade Saji is one of the city councilors of Tokio, being the only representative of Japanese Socialists in any public assembly. He spoke on the practical side of municipal Socialism.

After the lectures were over Comrade Ishikawa made some reports about the "cherry reviewing" meeting of the previous day and complained of the barbarous conduct of the police, when the police sergeant present there suddenly stood up and tried to break up the meeting. But the audience would not listen to such an order. They cried out again and again "Shakwaishugi Banzai!" (Long live the Socialist party!), violently clapping their hands all the time. After the great confusion which lasted about one hour, the audience were gradually dispersed, singing the "song of Socialism."

The People is a good broom to brush off the dirt from the minds of the kera. Buy a copy and pass it around.

On the Chicago Manifesto

[These columns are open for the discussion to Party members and non-Party members alike.]

I.

From H. J. Schade, Member Socialist Labor Party and Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance.

Los Angeles, Cal., March 16.—It is a call to arms, the invitation to participate in the formation of an industrial union. What the aims and objects to be attained, the constitution, rules and methods which should be adopted and control such an organization, is what I wish to discuss, rather than do any dissecting, or hair-splitting on the wording of the Manifesto; that is crude and preliminary. The convention itself will determine its objects and tactics.

Yes! the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance should send delegates, logical, able and determined men. Every Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance sympathizer in Chicago, or who can get to the convention, should be there to back up the delegates, assign their time on the floor to the delegates and assist them all they can. In fact, as education is our main object at present, the class conscious Socialist should respond to an invitation anywhere, everywhere, wherever the cause of labor is in need or in danger, to sound the word of sense and the principle of class consciousness.

The declaration of principles should express the following points: Labor produces all economic wealth. Wages can never be regarded as an equivalent of labor performed, because under the present system of wage labor, if labor produces \$8 of wealth in one day, the laborer receives \$2 as wages, the three-fourths goes to his employer who, after paying for raw material and dividing up with the landlord, pockets about \$4 as surplus value, which produces multi-millionaires on one hand and propertyless wage slaves on the other.

The secretaries opine, reason for the State to interfere to prevent the exploitation of its citizens and the draining of the earnings of the community into the possession of a few private persons.

The secretaries think it is beyond doubt that the advantages bestowed by progressive legislation are gradually being nullified, and will eventually be destroyed by certain adverse influences, and therefore these influences must be sought out and neutralized fearlessly and effectively in the interests of all classes of workers, i. e., of the vast majority of the citizens of the colony.

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organization would have to gravitate towards it and if honest and well meaning would adopt our position. Any one versed in Socialism must admit that the declaration of principles of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance is correct and that no other can fit in the framework of revolutionary Socialism.

The severe lashing that the Socialist Labor Party has given the Social Democratic party, has born good results. The rank and file are awakening. Fakirism and class consciousness, middle class reform and revolution, cannot harmonize; consequently, it is turmoil and each at the other man's throat in the S. D. P. Long has the S. D. P. supported the pure and simple unions. The "borers from within" have crawled in the dust for the Gomperses and done everything to prejudice the rank and file of those unions against the S. L. P. and the Alliance, yet while all this existed it was tolerated by the men who now are at the head of this industrial union, the framers and signers of the Manifesto. Some of these men a few years ago claimed industrial unionism to be the thing and they had the A. L. U. founded along the lines of the Alliance in the West. But they did not work as a class conscious body for the up-building of a revolutionary working class movement. They condemned the fakirs in the pure and simple unions, but upheld them indirectly by giving prestige to the S. D. P. What guarantees we that the signers of the Manifesto or most of them at least, will not, after the new organization is formed do the same thing? That these men are talking industrial unionism and coming close to S. L. P. principles does not signify much unless they practice what they preach. It is not what a man says in favor of Socialism that counts but he must back up his talk by action, open and above board to gain the respect of class conscious workingmen in the labor movement.

Now, what many of these men talk about Socialism, class consciousness and revolution, is only words. They act contrary. If the signers of the Manifesto took a consistent stand they would agree that the Alliance is correct in principles and tactics, and instead of forming a movement similar to the Alliance, they would join its ranks and use their influence to promote its principles, and when talking politics it would be from the S. L. P. platform.

The S. L. P. press has called the workers' attention to the shortcoming of pure and simple craft organization in its struggle with capital, so it may be easy at this time to organize an industrial union as outlined by the Manifesto.

But in this case the political aspect would be lost sight of. No one then would interfere with one's politics, so you could still have the officers of this union supporting bogus Socialism, even Republicanism. These men would have great influence both economically and politically. Thus this industrial unionism would be a prop to bogus Socialism.

Of course, it is at this time an utter impossibility to judge what will be the outcome of this convention, but one thing we do know with certainty is that our opportunity to organize Alliances were never better. This stir in the labor movement should be taken advantage of. Now is the time to educate, agitate, and organize. A few Alliance organizers in the large industrial centers would accomplish much good during the next few months.

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The Burning Question

of

TRADES UNIONISM.

A lecture delivered at Newark, N. J.,

by Daniel De Leon

Editor of the Daily People,
the official organ of the Socialist Labor Party.

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Trades Unionism in the United States

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The question of trades unionism is one of great importance. The organizations of men employed at trades figure largely in the economics and politics of the day. Their principles and control have become a matter of tremendous social significance. This applies not only to the present forms of society, but those of the future as well. Trade unions are either the bulwarks of capitalism or the rudimentary framework of Socialism.

A question so pregnant with significance is worthy of study. Emerson says: "Man is explicable by nothing else than all his history." So with trades unionism. The best study of trades unionism in the United States is all of its history. It will be the object of this paper to furnish a glimpse of this history in order that interest in the study of American trades unionism may be stimulated and the extent of its profound reality. As the word implies, the glimpse will necessarily be brief, including in its sweep only typical instances of progress, both upward and downward."

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John Mitchell Exposed

BY

ROBERT RANDELL

The President of the United Mine Workers' Union, John Mitchell, is a labor leader widely known, a leader who has been almost idolized by many workingmen believing him to be the foremost defender of labor's cause, and we would it were true. But far from being the true guardian of labor's interests, Mitchell has betrayed vast armies of strikers to disastrous defeat. In these addresses, Randell, a member of the United Mine Workers, lays bare Mitchell's autocratic and traitorous conduct in the Colorado-Utah strike of 1903-4, and also his infamous connection with the National Civic Federation. This is a valuable lesson in the methods of the lieutenants of capital as labor leaders. The "Two Pages from Roman History," read by the light of this expose, will be better comprehended.

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In 1900.....	34,191
In 1904.....	34,172

If the advocate of the present, with its black catalogue of crimes and vices—if the wealthy and the self-styled high and mighty of the earth can conceive of no other system, and do not know more of the nature of man than that he may be enslaved and degraded, they know but the half, and the worst half of his capabilities. Awful, to such, will be the blast of the coming tempest, which the strongest must bend to, and the highest fall down before!

J. L. BRAY.

SOME SOURCES OF BUSINESS.

In the State of Mississippi is a county called Carroll. In Carroll county are two towns—one Carrollton, the other Vaiden. The two towns are competing for the privilege of hanging a certain negro named Henry Brown. The "Record," a paper published in Vaiden, states the argument forcibly and plainly gives the reason why Vaiden insists on her rights. It says:

"It is not the life of Henry Brown that our people crave so much; neither does the world care a baubee whether the insignificant negro starts to perdition from Vaiden or Carrollton, so long as the law is upheld; but because of the fact that the crime was committed in the Second district of Carroll county, the negro indicted, tried and sentenced at this point, common justice demands that the hanging should be done here, and the concerted action on the part of Carrollton to force the hanging there is a flagrant display of bad taste and a direct violation of common courtesy. LIKE ALL OTHER HANGINGS, THE EXECUTION OF HENRY BROWN WILL ATTRACT THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE, AND TO PERMIT CARROLLTON TO PLUCK THE PLUM WOULD MEAN A HEAVY LOSS TO OUR BUSINESS MEN."

That is in Mississippi. From the north, from holy, Puritanic New England, comes this story, told by a New Haven minister, who has undertaken the thankless task of holding by the tail the runaway horse of modern corruption. In a Connecticut village, whose name he suppresses, he and others organized a committee to prevent corruption on election day. The committee was driven out of the village; the leader of the assailants was the village grocer; and he voiced his own and his fellow-business-men's reasons for their indignation at the "fresh committee" by saying: "What do them fellows propose? Do they want to kill the business of the place? If they carry out their new-fangled notions money will cease to circulate, and we might as well shut up shop!"

Although it is not possible to ascertain the "social tone" of this village, its name not being given, it must be a very exceptional Connecticut village if it at all falls behind Vaiden, with its four churches and a seminary. It is safe to proceed upon the theory that the Connecticut village is at a par with the Mississippi village—both of equally good "social and religious tone"; and thus they contribute equal shares of light to illuminate the sources of business.

If the loss of a hanging implies a loss of business, then hanging must be sources of business prosperity; and, mounting to the headspring, the crime that feeds the source, murder, is one of the elements from which business draws its sap. Similarly in Connecticut: If corruption at the polls is the water that turns the wheels of business, and sets money in circulation, then political impunity is another element from which business derives its nourishment.

Of course, these two places are but as atoms in the nation's organism. But, no atom, no organism; the only difference between the two villages on the one hand, and larger towns, on the other is one of degree and not of kind. Capitalism would have to "shut up shop" if corruption and crime of all nature were suppressed. No corruption, no crime—no capitalism.

What Vaiden and the Connecticut village have done, distinct from large towns, is to betray the truth. Larger gatherings of capitalist society are more hypocritical.

IF YOU FAIL, TRY AGAIN.

We do not suppose that "President-Editor-Undertaker" Gompers is ex-

tensively versed in French literature, whether in the original, or through translations. If our supposition is right, the fact would only go to throw into relief the originality of the gentleman's genius. He needs no tips.

A witty French author, Le Sage by name, wrote a work under the title of Gil Blas. The hero of the story, Gil Blas, comes across all sorts of people, and makes all sorts of experience. Among other things, he has to do with a Doctor of the name of Sangrado (literally Bleed). Dr. Sangrado's system of treatment was as simple as it was unique. The first thing he did when called in to see a patient was to bleed him and pour water down his throat; if the man got worse (as they uniformly did) he would bleed him some more and pour still more water down his throat; if the patient began to show signs of collapse (as they invariably did) he was given a third dose of bleeding and a third dose of water; if he still survived, though sinking fast (as happened with some few robust constitutions) then Dr. Sangrado would finish him up by bleeding him of whatever few lingering drops of blood his veins still contained and by the simultaneous pouring of a gallon of water down his throat. Dr. Sangrado's "graduated" by the time he got through with them were drained of their blood and inflated beyond recognition by water. He uniformly reached his end; if first he failed, he tried and tried again. So with "President-Editor-Undertaker" Gompers. He hastened to Chicago to operate upon the teamster strike; did not succeed in killing it off on the spot; had to leave the city; but promised to return and administer a second dose of his treatment. Success will then, no doubt, crown the gentleman's efforts.

Like Dr. Sangrado, "President-Editor-Undertaker" Gompers has unlimited faith in his system of treatment; like the Doctor, the "President-Editor-Undertaker" has an uninterrupted line of success to show; like the Doctor, the "President-Editor-Undertaker" Gompers always tries and tries again, if he does not succeed at the first attempt.

No more than the human body could resist the successive applications of Dr. Sangrado's system, can an organization of Labor resist the successive applications of Gompersism; when he returns to Chicago, as he promises or threatens, "President-Editor-Undertaker" Gompers will undoubtedly add one more "glorious victory" to the long catalogue of his register that is surmounted with the skull and crossbones of the Working Class.

HOPEFUL—FOR WHOM?

Leonora Beck Ellis has an article in this month's "Bob Taylor Magazine" that should make the mouths of northern mill owners water. It should make their mouths water both by reason of the facts that it mentions and the conclusions that it draws.

Among the facts quoted by the lady is that of families consisting of father, mother and six or eight boys and girls ranging from twelve to twenty-odd years working in southern mills and bringing home every month—jointly, the whole family, father, mother and six or eight boys and girls from eight to twenty-odd years—\$175! (the scare mark is the lady's herself). In other words, supposing the family to be of only father, mother and six boys and girls, its members would be averaging a little less than \$22 A MONTH, or about \$5 A WEEK, while a family of father, mother and eight boys and girls would be averaging \$17.50 A MONTH, or something like \$4 A WEEK!

No wonder Leonora Beck Ellis puts a scare mark after the fact. But what does the scare mark stand for? Is it indignation or approbatory wonderment? Let Leonora Beck Ellis speak for herself. She asks, Is it at all strange that EXTRAVAGANCE seizes upon this family?

In other words the wages of these people, one of whom at least (the mother) should be attending household work at home, and several of whom should be at school, are too high! Extravagance is a vice and mother of vices. These people are made extravagant by reason of the high wages that they receive. Why not go to the root of the evil and stop the vice-breeding extravagance by reducing wages? The remedy is obvious; the cure unfailing.

Speaking as a member of the conference which issued the Chicago Manifesto, I desire to guard against any wrong interpretation which may be given to Mr. Untermann's article as well as to the similar writings of Mr. A. M. Simons. These gentlemen have no warrant to voice the sentiments of the conference. Whatever they have to say against the S. T. & L. A. is the expression of their individual judgment or prejudice, as the case may be, and must in no wise be taken as summing up the sense of the signers of the Manifesto. That document maps out a wide sweep of common ground upon which all may meet in unity of purpose who are willing to fight for a revolutionary economic organization of the Working Class.

Thos. J. Hegerty.

Chicago, Ill., May 13.

Until the above letter was received we were in the belief that the publication of the Untermann article in this month's issue of the "Voice of Labor" was a bit of "Keltic wicke-ness and humor", intended to have Untermann pillory himself in plain view of the American Labor Movement, and himself furnish conclusive documentary evidence of the charges that The People has these

er, living on grass, and thereby filling the high moral ideal of the patriotic capitalist, can not escape realization.

No wonder "Public Opinion" publishes Leonora Beck Ellis' article under the thick-typed heading of: "A Hopeful View of the Southern Mill People".

W. K. VANDERBILT, JR.

Even casual readers of newspapers are aware of the proficiencies of crowned heads and Princes. The press despatches have taken care of that. There is not a European crowned head or Prince whose expertise in science, arts and letters has not been vaunted some time or other. The vulgar mind has the notion that these Princes and crowned heads are idlers, with all the vices of the idler, and expert only in that. But such notions are only vulgar; they are vicious and incorrect. For instance: did not the Czar of Russia quite recently "personally inspect" the engines of his warships and display "close technical knowledge"? Has not King Edward VII. been positively stated to be a "specialist on Shakespeare"? And on what is the German Emperor not a specialist, from painting down or up to electricity? And yet there are people so incredulous as to doubt the alleged facts, although published black upon white.

So likewise it is very much to be feared that the press despatches concerning the skill and usefulness of W. K. Vanderbilt, Jr., will be love's labor lost upon certain folks. The press despatches announce the young man as having been elected a Director and Vice-President of the Utica and Mohawk Valley Railway Company and the Syracuse Rapid Transit Company. That is a very likely story, the wicked folks will say, and quoting Marx, the source of all their pestiferousness, that a man does not become a capitalist because he is a captain of industry, but he becomes a captain of industry because he is a capitalist—just as a man does not become a Prince because he is a King, but he becomes a King because he is a Prince. The story, accordingly, of W. K. Vanderbilt, Jr., hitherto known to the world only for his dangerous feats—dangerous to the pedestrians more than to himself—with speedy automobiles driven at reckless speed—the story that the gentleman has become a Director and Vice-President is not surprising; but what the vicious will decline to believe is that the gentleman has "carefully trained himself on the science of railroading", and is going to devote his "whole attention to his duties" for which he is "eminently qualified by laborious study"—that chunk of truth the vicious will doubt.

It is a pity that there are people so constituted that they will not believe a thing, even if the capitalists, or other people interested in its being believed, pay round sums to the papers to have it published.

A NARROW ESCAPE; OR, ANOTHER SHOT THAT FAILED.

The below letter arrived with the mail of the 15th instant:

Editor The People.—It is not generally known that my editorship of the "Voice of Labor" ceased with the February edition thereof. The publication of Mr. Untermann's article against the S. T. & L. A. in the May edition must not, therefore, be construed as representing my editorial policy in such matters.

Apart from the merits of the subject; Mr. Untermann's dragging in by the ears of so wholly irrelevant a thing as the Latin parentage of Mr. De Leon and the lack throughout his article of that calm, scientific temperament which is presumed to be the especial heritage of Teutonic blood as distinguished from the fatal Latin quality of intrigue render it, in my judgment, altogether unfit for publication.

Speaking as a member of the conference which issued the Chicago Manifesto, I desire to guard against any wrong interpretation which may be given to Mr. Untermann's article as well as to the similar writings of Mr. A. M. Simons. These gentlemen have no warrant to voice the sentiments of the conference. Whatever they have to say against the S. T. & L. A. is the expression of their individual judgment or prejudice, as the case may be, and must in no wise be taken as summing up the sense of the signers of the Manifesto.

That document maps out a wide sweep of common ground upon which all may meet in unity of purpose who are willing to fight for a revolutionary economic organization of the Working Class.

Thos. J. Hegerty.

Chicago, Ill., May 13.

A correspondent asks The People to give the name of a book exposing the degeneracy of the Capitalist Class. He is at present said to be in Jerome, Ariz., "Letter Box". This is a book that is published with daily additions. Our correspondent may begin with this item from the New York "Sun" of May 20:

many years been bringing, and the warnings that The People has been uttering against the gentleman's ilk. The harmfulness to the Socialist Movement, to say nothing of the repulsiveness, of these caricatures of the German race, represented in this city by the New Yorker Volkszeitung corporation and in Chicago by Mr. Untermann; their offensive conceit in deeming their own palpable ignorance the equivalent of knowledge, simply because they are Germans, and, as such, can (presumably) read the posthumous and untranslated works of Marx, which, as a matter of fact, they neither read nor could understand, if they did; their laughable, if it were not so harmful, presumption of strutting as the elect of the Lord on the strength of their being Germans; their arrogant readiness to insult all other races and nationalities—as Mr. Untermann does the Latin race, of which, evidently, what he knows is not worth knowing, and as the Volkszeitung corporation clique habitually do when they, sink of corruption and ash-barrel of ignorance, pronounce the Irish "corrupt to the marrow", the American people "hopelessly ignorant and corrupt", the English language "absurd and dishonest", etc., etc.; their underbred recklessness in scattering their falsehoods against men and bodies of men; their utter disregard of the interests of the Movement and readiness to sacrifice it to their own bloated, nativistic vanity—all these ulcerations come together and run out of Mr. Untermann's article, like pus out of a festering sore that is burst open. And so we applaud the publication of the screed, and have laid it by as a useful document, confident that it can have but one effect with the thoughtful (and who else is worth regarding?)—to serve as a documentary comprobation of the justice of a serious note of warning that The People has long sounded.

As we read the article, we felt that our document must have had a narrow escape. No longer ago than in its March issue, the "Voice of Labor" felt induced by a sense of duty to itself and to the Movement to retract and to apologize for a false charge which it had been cheated into publishing against the General Executive Board of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, and which it pronounced false in the said March issue. Great, accordingly, must have been the danger of the "Voice of Labor's" detecting in the proffered Untermann article (and, therefore, rejecting it) the identity of the source of information with the worthless source of information that had imposed upon itself—Mr. Thomas Aloysius Hickey, an unreliable being, who was discharged from this office for shirking work, lying, and habitual drunkenness, and who, ever since seeking the stable to stuff and duly appreciated by them as a bird of their feather, found the ear of Herman Titus, then in Seattle, and now the ear of Ernest Untermann the ready-willing sink to dump his boozy stuff into. Narrow was our document's escape. It was a piece of good luck that it did escape.

For the rest, there is nothing that the Untermanns and Simones, or any number of such vicious clowns, can do that will accomplish its purpose, and goad the Editor of The People into a posture harmful to the prospects of the approaching Chicago Convention. Whether in his capacity of Editor of The People, or—if elected by next month's annual convention of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance at Lynn—in the capacity of delegate to the said Chicago Convention, having no private axe to grind and no personal malice to gratify, he will pursue his ideal—his present, "immediate ideal" of doing all in his power to render the Chicago Convention successful; and thus, as set forth in full in his statement to the members of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, recently published in these columns, help set up that national Union that American conditions demand as a condition precedent for the reaching of the ultimate ideal—the leaving to our children a patrimony worthy of human beings—THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC.

In order to appreciate the force of this decision, it is necessary to recall the statement of philanthropists that the wages paid the operatives are insufficient to maintain the physical well-being required by their labor—it is necessary to further recall that the decrease in wages has been continuous, and that with it there has gone a continuous increase in production—finally, it is necessary to recall that the Fall River capitalists have intimated that wages will have to come down still more, in order to correspond with and meet conditions in the South.

Who, upon considering all of the foregoing, will hold that the Socialist is an extremist when he declares that wage labor condemns the wage worker to starvation and slavery? Who, observing the facts, will not join the Socialist in sweeping aside the Douglasses, the Borden's and the Tanseys, and all the other capitalists and labor fakirs who uphold this system of wage starvation and slavery? Who, cognizant of the terrible truth, will not aid the Socialist in abolishing the private ownership of capital on which this infamous system is based?

an elaborate supper and contracted with the management for the use of an orchestra, for which he agreed to pay \$75. Mr. Clark, the complainant says, paid for the supper, but neglected to pay for the use of the orchestra.

"Mr. Clark again visited the restaurant on March 8, 1904. He ordered a supper for twelve, with the orchestra accompaniment. This time, says the complainant, Mr. Clark did not pay either for the supper or the orchestra. The bill for wines amounted to \$193.50, while that for food was only \$29.85. The orchestra was to be \$100.

"The supper included eleven quarts of special champagne at \$12 a quart; thirty-six Scotch whiskies, one quart of claret, \$8; twenty drinks of rye whisky, a magnum and several quarts of ordinary champagne."

Read the last paragraph and then reflect upon the character of the twelve persons that can consume such a quantity of liquids with supper. Could anything be more swinish and bestial? Could anything be more wasteful and indicative of degeneracy? Yet this is one of many instances in which the Clarks, who preach thrift, temperance and manhood to the Working Class, show that they possess neither the one nor the other themselves. Our correspondent will find abundant material demonstrating the degeneracy of the capitalist class, if he keeps his eyes open when reading the capitalist press.

Another "labor leader" has received his reward! This time it is James Tasey of Fall River, Mass. This worthy aided the employers to enforce the 12 1/2 per cent. reduction and the intensification of labor that followed it. He has, further, paved the way for another wage-cut by his report on Southern conditions, written under the direction of Governor Douglas and the chief clerk of the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics, who accompanied Tasey on his tour of investigation in the South. This worthy "labor leader" was nominated a member of the Police Board of Fall River by Governor Douglass. This is a position in which he will be compelled to still do the operatives, upon whose backs he climbed to the place, more harm than good. The capitalists only give "plums" to the faithful for services rendered. Tasey has proven faithful and rendered services, hence he gets the "plum."

Brown's lack of scruple appears in his deliberate misrepresentation of Marx. Hear him (Chapter VI, "The Errors of Socialism." Sub-division, "The Labor Value Fallacy," P. 75-6.)—

"Labor, physical labor, the sole creator of wealth? No! In our complex industry, there are manifold co-ordinate elements. When you have poured into the witch's caldron of production material, capital, land, invention, oversight, physical labor, and have stirred them all up together until they come forth finished products, who shall measure accurately the exact proportion which each has contributed to the final result? Is labor, physical labor, to say, 'It is all mine; here or back through the ages, I, undirected, unorganized, spending all, and saving nothing, I created all invention, all oversight; all wealth is due to me, labor, therefore, to me, labor, all wealth is due?' Shall labor say this? Labor has said this. But to make such a claim is to make a claim wholly irrational, fallacious, unjust. Workingmen ought to rid themselves of this fallacy. They ought to distrust the men who make parrot-like reiteration of it. Labor is essential to production; physical labor is a necessary, inevitable factor in production. But capital, oversight, invention, all the work of head and heart that goes to improve social conditions and make them intelligent and wholesome, have their share in creation, and must have their full share in the product. The rights of workmen are too real and too important to all social welfare for their assertion to be based upon a social falsehood."

"Yet upon this notion that labor is the sole creator of wealth, Karl Marx built up his whole theory of capital, and his whole indictment against the capitalist class, as the robbers of the just rewards of labor."

This is untrue. Nowhere does Marx claim that "physical labor," or "labor," is the sole creator of wealth. Marx is nothing if not comprehensive. His conceptions of production and labor are all-inclusive and social. Marx says on P. 10 of "Capital": "Labor is not the only source of material wealth, of use values produced by labor. As William Petty puts it, labor is its father and the earth its mother." Is this keeping land out of the "witch's caldron"? Marx says on P. 6 of "Capital": "The total labour-power of society, which is embodied in the sum total of the value of all commodities produced by society, counts here as one homogenous mass of human labour-power, composed though it be of innumerable individual units." Does that exclude anything that should have gone into the Rev. Doctor's Shakespearean receipt?

Marx's conceptions of production and labor being all-inclusive and social, he logically argues that the commodities created by social labor applied to land, should go to the millions of mental and manual workers of all degrees who constitute society, and not to the few capitalists who dominate it. Unlike the Rev. Dr. Brown he does not contend (1) "In our complex industry there are manifold coordinate elements"; therefore (2) they</

CORRESPONDENCE

[CORRESPONDENTS WHO PREFER TO APPEAR IN PRINT UNDER AN ASSUMED NAME WILL ATTACH SUCH NAME TO THEIR COMMUNICATIONS, BESIDE THEIR OWN SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS. NONE OTHER WILL BE RECOGNIZED.]

AS TO THE CHICAGO CONVENTION.

To the Daily and Weekly People—Having taken no part in the "Bulgaria or Italy?" discussion, nor in the Chicago Manifesto criticisms to date, I am now prompted to give my opinion upon the vital principle of both questions (they really resolve themselves into one), owing to the fear or apprehension expressed in several articles, regarding Comrades Olive M. Johnson and Daniel De Leon's "confessions of faith." Some comrades have even gone so far as to state that these two comrades have virtually abandoned our old Socialist Labor Party principles and tactics, and that if we follow their leadership we will shortly be floundering about without rudder or compass. Now,

it seems to me that the comrades who think so have been running the "loyalty" and "no compromise" principle into the ground and are now unable to perceive the difference between the results of a "logical evolution" (which we have to cope with at present), and a reform or compromise movement, such as the "Socialist" party has presented for years past.

To me the Chicago Manifesto is the legitimate offspring of Socialist Labor Party and Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance teaching and tactics for the last five or six years. Hampered as our magnificent organization was during the last five years, carrying the heavy financial burdens of the Daily People, the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance could not cover the vast field that was slowly but surely ripening for them throughout the length and breadth of the land. That thousands of good men have been captured by the "Socialist" party fly-paper concern, which really belonged to us, is a matter of fact. Whether these men and women joined the "Socialist" party because no Socialist Labor Party bid was made, or whether they joined the "Socialist" party influenced by the kangaroo outbreak of 1890 or the later kangaroo defection makes no difference as to the fact. Enough for our article is the fact that they are there, getting mighty restless and uneasy, but still they are there. Now the banner of revolt is raised in their own ranks, the illegal position of the "Socialist" party on the trades union question being the entering wedge which had, sooner or later, to drive apart these conflicting elements.

The really revolutionary class-conscious workers of the "Socialist" party are beginning to perceive that the trades union question is really the pivotal question of revolutionary Socialism, and that to compromise on the economic field is even more disastrous to Socialism than a political compromise.

These men have now issued a manifesto calling upon all class-conscious economic organizations to unite in a convention to be held in June in Chicago. A strictly class-conscious economic organization shall be launched "having no affiliation with, or endorsing no political party." In other words, a Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance with a new name, minus the political clause.

Now, suppose the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance delegates to that convention should be so unwise as to try and push through a Socialist Labor Party endorsement, what would be the result? The "Socialist" party men, being no doubt in the majority, would offer a similar resolution for their party, and the entire convention would be merely a fight between two political parties, and the economic organization would be either a "Socialist" party or a Socialist Labor Party kite-tail. Therefore, Comrade De Leon has but again shown his usual foresight in stating frankly and openly his reason for opposing any and all resolutions asking endorsement of a political party. Let the new economic body be formed by all means, and if it voices at this convention all the economic truths that the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance stands for, then I say let the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance go up in the new body, for its mission is then fulfilled, and its membership will in the future even more so than in the past (owing to the larger field), have an opportunity for the advancement of Socialism.

Some comrades harp upon the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance endorsement of the Socialist Labor Party as if that were of such vast importance. The act is that endorsement never amounted to anything more than a mere fraternal bond, both the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance being able to stand on their bottom without any endorsements. In fact, the endorsement of the Socialist Labor Party has actually harmed the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, there are a good many men in the

"Socialist" party who for years have opposed the trades union "straddle" of their party, favoring the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, but would not join the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance because of its Socialist Labor Party endorsement.

The new class conscious organization must stand on its own bottom, but as a thoroughly revolutionary membership will and must wield its ballot intelligently to emphasize politically the logical deduction of its economics, it will follow logically and naturally that only a revolutionary political party can ever hope to get its vote.

And now I would ask, which party do you suppose that will be?

Don't deceive yourselves, comrades; the real Socialists of the land are at last going to "get together," and Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance and Socialist Labor Party tactics and principles will prevail and dominate the future Socialist movement of this country; and if in exchange for this we have to give up the old names, I say let us give them up: what care we so long as the substance remains?

Consequently, in conclusion I say, instead of the two comrades referred to "losing their moorings", they are getting ready for the "tidal wave" that will put us on new land.

So throw out the life boat and let us all get ready for the voyage.

Fraternally,
Albert Schmitz.
Louisville, Ky., May 8.

II.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—To those who read my first letter on the Chicago Manifesto, this may appear as a sudden change of mind. I am willing to let it pass as such, leaving to my critics, as a criterion to govern them, my present attitude and my former one.

No one can deny that there is a great difference of opinion in the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance as to the position we ought to take at Chicago. We have followed certain tactics in the past, whose purpose has been to force certain conditions on the economic field. We who claim to understand every changing condition must realize the development of things. We can be orthodox to a degree that we may lose sight of the ultimate aim of the goal we seek to reach. The Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance stands to-day, as we see it, the height of expression of the working class, economically speaking; but have we a representative who could defend the Alliance principle against the proposed Industrial Union, with its up-to-date chart so plainly set forth by Hagerty; not on paper, but to carry out the plan which is the ultimate organization that is to break the shell of Capitalism?

Comrade Williams asks what is to be done with the Western Federation of Miners? He shows the big white elephant of Butte City, Montana, the Miners' Union—its corruption—and then he shows the superior make-up of the Smeltermen's Union; and there is no doubt but what the smeltermen and the American Labor Union men, have put the proper literature in front of these men. To make my point clear: the Socialist Labor Party succeeded in getting before the American Labor Union convention and they passed a resolution setting forth an amount for class literature; so we see those men clamoring for industrial unionism.

Butte City, with its fakir-led pure and simple union (who were never known to strike) is not the whole of the Western Federation of Miners. Turn the search-light on British Columbia. There we find the Western Federation of Miners staying with the coal miners; and I have to meet the first coal miner who left British Columbia—driven out by the power of Capital—but what will say: "The leaders came into the field with us; and their lives were an open page." Then look at Telluride. The solidarity shown in that strike has never been equalled in any strike in the world. The aristocratic idea of Labor does not obtain: they want a class union.

Recently in this district of the United Mine Workers, since the year is beginning to work, we see some of the pure and simple "labor leaders", Populists and Democrats, saying, "We are industrial unionists." We know that these individuals can no more fill a position on the industrial field, than I could go to the planet Mars.

The question arises, have the Proletariat of America, developed or clarified themselves to the extent that they can launch a union to fight the battles of our class, minus the fakir? This we must battle for. In looking over the field, I am optimistic. I am thoroughly convinced that the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance

convention will take another step forward, recognize the true position, put aside all prejudices, and stand for a union based absolutely on the class struggle.

With access to the wage slaves' minds, the future is ours. No one can deny that the only men who have a right to our class minds, are those who recognize what the Industrial Union should be: a union free from fakirs. Strictly disciplined must be the representative men.

Philip Veal.
East St. Louis, Ill., May 14.

OLSON ON THE OUTLOOK.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—It might interest the comrades to know the doings of the undersigned, who is now engaged by the Scandinavian Socialist Labor Party Federation in a three weeks' agitation tour through the New England States. The tour started Wednesday the 10th instant from New York and will end in Boston on Deco ration Day. I will then have to return to my nerve-trying management job on our Swedish Party organ, "Arbetaren."

So far I have visited New Haven, New Britain and Hartford, Conn., and Springfield, Mass., and at present I am located at a small industrial city named Gardner, Mass. The Federation has branches of its organization in the three cities I visited in Connecticut. My main work in those places consisted in giving addresses of instruction to the branches. Public meetings were ar ranged in New Britain and Hartford and both were comparatively successful. The audiences paid close attention to my remarks on existing wage slave conditions and the road out of them. Several new members were gained and some literature sold.

The branch in New Haven was not in a very healthy shape owing to lack of activity and proper agitational methods on the part of its members. I pointed out that fact to them and presented a plan of work. If the members recognize that fact and take up the work properly, I shall feel satisfied that my visit to the University City was not altogether devoid of good. The city has a Scandinavian population of about 5,000.

As to New Britain it is estimated that about one-third of the population is Scandinavian. I could hear my mother tongue most everywhere on the street. The city has some immense manufacturing plants, the largest of which, I believe, is the Corbin Lock Co. The wage slave conditions in that factory are those of the veritable hell. No economic organization exists among its wage slaves. The concern, like the Metropolitan Railway in New York, and Brooklyn Rapid Transit Co., will not have it. Wages are, as a consequence, most miserable. The squash-bone pure and simpledom has evidently never made an attempt to erect an organization in Corbin's.

Class conscious industrial unionism will certainly have an important mission on its hands when it arrives at New Britain. Speed the day! must be the silent prayer of the outrageously exploited wage slaves in the Corbin concerns, both men and women and, no doubt, children. Permit me to correct this error. The elevator men are being organized by the American Labor Union, together with the firemen, engineers and other employees in large buildings, that is, on the industrial union plan. The A. L. U. recently struck for the reinstatement of an elevator man and won. Otherwise the article is a good portrayal of conditions.

A Fireman.
New York, May 19.

A VALUABLE SUGGESTION.

To the readers of the Daily and Weekly People:—The time for the proposed industrial union convention draws near, and, without doubt, the large majority of the readers of the Daily and Weekly People would like to know the full proceedings of said convention. Therefore,

I recommend that we assist financially the management of the Daily and Weekly People to furnish us with a complete stenographic report of the doings of the convention. Such a report will be of indisputable value to the labor movement. Hoping that this proposition will meet with your approval.

C. A. Lueddecke.
Rochester, N. Y., May 17.

Parry's "warnings against the spread of Socialism" voice not only his ignorance of Socialism but also his reactionary fears. The gentleman is worrying more about the movement of the proletariat that will abolish his class than he is about the "tyranny of trades unionism". He sees the handwriting on the wall, and is frantically pursuing a policy that underscores and emphasizes it. As The People said on a former occasion the Parry policy is to be welcomed. Unlike the Easely policy, it does not attempt to reconcile the irreconcilable. It makes the class struggle more pronounced; and, in so doing, it is hastening the day of the final settlement of the conflict between Capital and Labor.

LABOR.

(Continued from page 4.)

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As "the good book" says: "Sufficient unto the day are the evils thereof." Even these would not have seen light, were it not that the Rev. Brown's "arguments" are in active service to day.

This letter is already long enough, but there is a point I like to mention.

The most important feature of my tour is the part of instructions to the

members of various branches, in regards to the work. These instructions will be of no use unless carried out by the members. One important item of those instructions was to point out that each and every member should be active, doing something, for each and every one possesses the power to do something, as for instance: Spread of party organs and literature, distribution of leaflets, and so on. Besides, all work should be carried on in the least time consuming and most systematic way. Our party organ agents, particularly, should remember that point.

It is by a highly developed system of work that the capitalist class succeeds each day to extract every particle of use value out of the working class.

Wherever we turn our noses we find the same principle. Go in to a large hardware store, for instance, and buy a hinge. You would be surprised to know how the clerk would know the price of every one of the thousand different articles in the store. And yet it is as simple as simple can be. Somewhere near that particular class of articles hangs a table giving the number, name and price of its different wares.

If we apply the same principle to our work it is sure to be doubly effective. The party sections should figure out how every reader of our party press could be reached as his subscription expires. That would greatly strengthen the power of our press and would tend to increase its circulation.

As far as I have observed on this tour, the field is in first class condition for our propaganda. All we have to do is to apply our revolutionary plow to the ground and we shall gain ground as fast as we pull the plow over it.

To work, comrades, all over the land. On to the front line! The future is ours!

Arvid Olson.
Gardner, Mass., May 18, 1905.

MORE ABOUT THE ELEVATOR MAN.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—In the Sunday People of May 14, in the article "More About the Elevator Man," the statement is made:

"They are beginning to realize that something is wrong, and though they have started blindly on the wrong path by organizing a union which, I understand, is to be affiliated with the A. F. of H.—I, I hope," and so forth.

Permit me to correct this error. The elevator men are being organized by the American Labor Union, together with the firemen, engineers and other employees in large buildings, that is, on the industrial union plan. The A. L. U. recently struck for the reinstatement of an elevator man and won. Otherwise the article is a good portrayal of conditions.

A Fireman.

New York, May 19.

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more next week.

LETTER-BOX OFF-HAND ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS

[NO QUESTIONS WILL BE CONSIDERED THAT COME IN ANONYMOUS LETTERS. ALL LETTERS MUST CARRY A BONA FIDE SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS.]

O. C. S., BUFFALO, N. Y.—There is essentially no difference between the modern well-intentioned philanthropists and the medieval monasteries of charity. The one and the other took a position that amounted to believing that misery could be bailed out of the social ship. That, of course, is an error. The leakage ever was too large for bailing.

ORGANIZER, SECTION HARTFORD, S. L. P.—The matter arrived too late.

"DISGUSTED", NEW YORK—First: Don't blame your Social Democratic party national committeeman Hilquit for "being disgustingly gentle" towards Berger. Berger only recommended the support of a capitalist candidate for judge, there being no candidate of his own party; but Hilquit, who was then in the Socialist Labor Party, and the party having a full ticket, scratched his party's candidate for judge and voted for the capitalist nominee Goff. It was the S. L. P.'s intolerance, shown by the condemnation of such a thing, that, among other reasons, made the S. L. P. too narrow for the gentleman. Why should he blame Berger for doing not quite so wrongful a thing?

Second: Do not get "disgusted." Place not your conduct at the mercy of freaks and frauds. But wash your hands of them and join the Socialist Labor Party.

H. K., DETROIT, MICH.—Send in the articles. Throw your bread upon the waters, and never look for the return.

N. R. O., SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.—The notion that, even under Socialism, thrift will ultimately bring back capitalism, inasmuch as some will be inclined to idleness and others to saving, indicates a total misconception of capitalism. Capitalism is a social system under which, whether he is inclined to idleness or not, a toolless man cannot earn his living without selling himself into slave bondage to one who owns the tools. Under such circumstances, the toolless man cannot rise honestly, and remains an exploited slave. This is impossible under Socialism. The tools of production, that is to say, the natural opportunities (capital) are accessible to all who wish to work, and, driven by man's physical needs, he who works will enjoy his full social share; what he gets will not be, cannot be his price in the labor market, leaving the lion's share to a private exploiter. Supposing the case that John is industrious and saving, and Dick inclined to idleness and wastefulness. No doubt, John will have a board and Dick be soon empty handed—but, unless Dick is also empty-handed, he never will think of going to John for a job and get skinned \$4 worth of wealth for every \$5 worth that he produces, when he can go to work in the nation's shop and get the full return of his social share. Under Socialism, the same as under Capitalism, the goad to work is man's physical and other needs. Under Capitalism, the goad drives the toolless man into the slave pen of the tool-holding man, the capitalist; under Socialism, the goad drives him to where he can satisfy his wants free from slave conditions. Putting the matter in another way, Capitalism, at best, places into the hands of the thrifty a weapon whereby to oppress his fellowmen, the toolless thrifty as well as the toolless idle. Socialism deprives any man of the power to oppress, by opening to all the opportunity to satisfy their wants.

E. C. HAYES, SECRETARY OUTLOOK COMMITTEE, MONTAGUE, MASS.—First: What tendency, if any, toward Socialism, do we find in our community? A strong tendency. The tendency is so strong that, with many, Socialism has become a sentiment—a mere sentiment against wrong.

Under such circumstances, it is next to impossible to estimate the number of conscious Socialists. With this caveat, we would judge the number of Socialists, in this community of New York City, men

OFFICIAL

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Henry Kuhn, Secretary, 2-6 New Read street, New York.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CANADA—National Secretary, P. O. Box 480, London, Ont.

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY—2-6 New Read street, New York City (The Party's literary agency.)

NOTES—For technical reasons no party announcements can go in that are not in this office by Tuesday, 10 a.m.

N. E. C. SUB-COMMITTEE.

A regular meeting was held on May 19 at 2-6 New Read street, with A. Gilhaus in the chair. Present were:

Anderson, Eck, Gilhaus, Kinneally,

Lechner, Moren, Walsh, Teichlau and

Crawford. Absent, without excuse,

Bahnsen and Donohue; with excuse,

Olsen, Burke, Katz and Hossack. A.

Moren was chosen to act as recording secretary pro tem. The financial report for the two weeks ending with May 13 showed receipts in the amount of \$200.77; expenditures, \$74.06.

A report was received on the National Agitation Fund matter and ordered sent to the Sections.

Communications were received from Red Lake Falls, Minn., the Section reporting the expulsion of Sam Luxemburg and Orban Hamery for treason, the former having accepted a nomination on the Democratic ticket, and the latter having voted at a Republican primary.

From L. F. Francis, Ore., a former member at large, sending money for literature and applying for renewal of membership. The secretary reported having forwarded regular application card which has not yet been returned.

From Section Union County, N. J., reporting election of officers. From Section Salt Lake City, Utah, upon change of plan in regard to getting a speaker in the near future and local agitation in connection with the convention of the Western Federation of Miners.

From Bisbee, Ariz., came corrected application for membership of J. Bal, which was granted. From Section Essex County, N. J., reporting expulsion of Frank C. Burgholz for refusal to appear before Grievance Committee.

The California State Executive Committee has forwarded application for charter for San Pedro, explaining also that because of the organization of San Pedro, Section Los Angeles County wished to change its charter from a county to a city charter, thus submitting two applications. They were granted.

Several communications were received from Organizer Bohn reporting his work in a number of California towns.

He has met with fairly good success,

particularly in the sale of literature and

the getting of subscriptions to the Party press.

From Illinois State Executive Committee, per Comrade Cox, on matters connected with the work of canvassing for the Party press in that State and more particularly in the city of Chicago. From H. O'Neil, Providence, R. I., transmitting bill of sale of the property of the Italian paper "Ragione Nuova" (The New Reason), to insure control of paper by the Socialist Labor Party. Same was received and ordered filed; also that a lease of said property be ordered executed. From C. W. Brandborg, member of the National Executive Committee for Minnesota, asking on behalf of the Minnesota State Executive Committee, whether any of the delegates that are to attend the Chicago convention would be available for agitation in Minnesota after the convention. Secretary instructed to reply that this committee had not at this time any information as to who will be chosen at the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance convention at Lynn, Mass., but that steps will be taken as soon as definite information is at hand to comply with the request of the Minnesota State Executive Committee, provided the expenses for such agitation can be raised locally, this committee being unable to add to its present expenses.

From Konstantin Popoff, Geneva, Switzerland, on behalf of Russian Social Democratic Labor Party, a letter explaining the situation in the Russian Socialist Movement. From B. H. Williams, Butte, Mont., in answer to a letter sent him by the National Secretary, relative to his taking up the work of agitation. Williams proposes to begin work in Montana for three months, backed by local aid, the work to be one of organizing and canvassing. Moved to accept the proposition. Carried. A committee from the New York County Executive Committee appeared with a complaint about the publication of the "Section Calendar" in The People. Referred to proper committee for investigation and correction. From Section Rensselaer County, New York, an inquiry as to the International Socialist Bureau and the Party's affiliation therewith. The question asked being of general import it was decided to convey the information asked for to all through an article in The People.

A number of points referred to the Committee on Party Press. The chair-

man of that committee, Comrade J. Hossack, being compelled to often leave town by reason of his employment, it was decided to elect J. Eck in his place.

A. Moren,
Rec. Sec. pro tem.

NEW JERSEY S. E. C.
Regular meeting held May 14, 1905, at 143 Beacon avenue, Jersey City.

The secretary, John Hossack, being absent, Julius Eck was elected secretary pro tem. Comrade Ernest Romary was elected to the chair.

All present except John Hossack, excused. Minutes of the previous meeting were adopted as read.

The National Agitation Fund matter was reported as follows:

Passaic County, \$37.85; Hoboken, \$37.07; South Hudson, \$14.46; North Hudson, \$6.70; total, \$114.06. Percentage for State Committee, \$11.38. Turned over to National Executive Committee, \$102.68.

Union County reported having received no National Agitation Fund matter.

The Organizer of Essex County reports the expulsion of Frank C. Burgholz for refusing to appear before the Grievance Committee.

A communication was received from the Socialist Labor Party, New York State Correspondence Bureau, asking this committee to aid in establishing connections in New York counties that border on the New Jersey State line. As no organization exists upon the border line, no assistance can be promised.

John J. Kinneally, general secretary of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, sends contribution lists for the gathering of funds to send Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance delegates to the Chicago convention. The lists were reported distributed.

The pamphlet, "A Course of Reading on Socialism" was received and the Sections' attention was directed to it.

Frank C. Burgholz handed in an appeal against his expulsion. The appeal was duly received and the secretary was ordered to direct the Section to present its side of the case, with documents, records, etc., at the next regular meeting of the State Committee, June 11, 1905.

On motion it was decided that the General Executive Board and District Assembly be notified by the secretary of the expulsion of Frank C. Burgholz, and that another delegate will have to be elected in his stead to represent the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance on the State Executive Committee. Carried.

A bill of fifty cents was presented by Frank C. Burgholz for car fare expended to attend the State Executive Committee meetings. Inasmuch as the Sections pay such expenses, the bill was ordered sent to the Section for further information.

Upon motion duly made and carried, Frank C. Burgholz was given the floor to report the doings of District Alliance No. 4, Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, in agitational work. Reports having held a successful meeting in Rahway. Four meetings were held in Newark. A meeting was held in New Brunswick, at which a section of the Socialist Labor Party was reported formed. Inasmuch as no application for a Section charter is on hand up to the present, the secretary was directed to write to Comrade Zierer of New Brunswick for information on this matter.

Reports of Sections were as follows: Passaic County reports 13 votes for De Leon, 1 for Jacobson as Socialist Labor Party delegate to the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance convention. Held a May Day festival with financial success. Press Security League intact. Passed a motion that a picnic should be held and contribution lists issued to gather funds to place a State organizer in the field. The vote upon the officers of the State committee was unanimously in favor.

Essex County reports vote on State officers unanimously in favor.

Union County reports two new members. Section getting into good condition. Six votes were cast for De Leon, none for Jacobson. Eight yearly subs one half-yearly sub for the Weekly People. Unanimously in favor of State officers.

Section South Hudson reports progress.

Section North Hudson reports five votes for De Leon, none for Jacobson. Unanimously in favor of State officers.

Section Hoboken reports in favor of National Agitation Fund plan and contribution lists to raise a State organizer fund. Eight dollars and fifty cents were contributed by the Section and individual members on the last Labor News call for funds. De Leon received 10 votes, Jacobson none. Unanimously in favor of State officers.

On motion \$2 were directed to be paid to Comrade Berdan to be used as expenses for State Correspondence Bureau. Carried.

On motion the State Executive Committee to issue subscription lists for a \$200 fund to place a State organizer in the field; lists to be returnable July 15; carried.

On motion to elect a committee to have 250 subscription lists printed. The

committee to be empowered to send out lists at once. Carried.

Comrades Hossack and Eck were elected on this committee.

Twenty-seven dollars and fourteen cents were reported in the treasury of the State Executive Committee.

No other business on hand adjourned followed.

Julius Eck, Sec. pro tem.

MASSACHUSETTS GENERAL COMMITTEE.

Regular meeting held May 14 at Section Boston's headquarters, 1165 Tremont street.

L. H. Englehardt in the chair.

Roll call showed Dunnack, Murphy, Deans, Englehardt, Bresnahan and Sweet present. Absent, Burnham, Schugel and Nielsen. Minutes of the previous meeting were adopted as read.

Communications: From Section Boston, ordering due stamps. From Secretary Connecticut State Executive Committee on the three-States canvasser and organized plan. From John J. Kinneally, general secretary of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, contribution fund lists to defray expenses of delegates to the Chicago convention; lists distributed to the Sections. From Section Holyoke, forwarding National matter. From Milford, sympathizer, giving his views on local labor conditions. From National Secretary Henry Kuhn, receipt for balance of National Agitation Fund matter. From Section Everett, sending half yearly financial statement. From New York State Correspondence Bureau requesting the addressed known by Massachusetts comrades of persons in New York State who could be made of service to the party. Massachusetts comrades going into New York State are requested to report to the undersigned to the end that connections with the correspondence bureau can be made. From Section Boston, lists for Faneuil Hall meeting, June 6. From Michael T. Berry, resigning as delegate to the National Executive Committee; ordered that a call be issued to the Sections to nominate a candidate; nominations to close May 27.

Moved that the consideration of conducting effective agitation in the State come up under the head of special order of business at the next regular meeting, May 28.

Adjournment followed.

John Sweeney, Sec.

55 Temple street, Boston, Mass.

WESTCHESTER IN LINE.

Nominates County Ticket and Makes Arrangements to Fill It.

Yonkers, N. Y., May 15.—A convention of the membership of Section Westchester County, Socialist Labor Party, was held here yesterday afternoon. The organizer of the county called the convention to order. Eber Forbes was chosen chairman and Peter Jacobson secretary. The convention went right into business and nominated the following county ticket:

Treasurer—Fred Bruckman, Pleasantville.

Croners—Paul Wegener, Mt. Vernon; Charles Zolot, Peekskill.

The chairman and secretary of the convention were elected a committee on vacancies.

After this the members discussed ways to get signatures and to raise funds to carry out the work. The county committee was instructed to get up subscription lists and the membership was urged to push them to their limit.

State Organizer Rudolph Katz, who was present, gave us a report of the work done by him in the county, and made final arrangements with the organizer of the county to close his work here.

The convention was composed of none but wage workers. It closed with the slogan: "To work, ye wage slaves, if you want to emancipate your class!"

Peter Jacobson, Sec.

GENERAL AGITATION FUND.

For the two weeks ending with Saturday, May 20, the following contributions were received for the above fund, designed to sustain the work of Organizer Frank Bohn:

F. Roberts, Seattle, Wash.

E. Krause, Seattle, Wash.

J. N. McPhie, Boston, Mass.

23d A. D., New York 1.00

A. Tewksbury, Hotchkiss, Colo.

A. Tourov, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Harry Halpern, New York

E. A. Goodwin, Boston, Mass.

"Discipline," Newark, N. J.

Frank Lightfoot, Bisbee, Ariz.

Total \$ 15.85

Previously acknowledged \$667.98

Grand Total \$713.83

Henry Kuhn, National Secretary.

PHILADELPHIA AGITATION.

An open-air meeting will be held at Forty-fifth street and Lancaster avenue by Section Philadelphia, Socialist Labor Party, on Saturday, May 27, eight p. m. Members are requested to attend. PEOPE.

LEADERS and sympathizers are invited to be present.

On motion to elect a committee to have 250 subscription lists printed. The

'FRISCO TAILORS

Decide Against Gompers' Unionism and In Favor of Industrial Unionism.

(Special Correspondence.)

San Francisco, Cal., May 17.—Last night, at Union Square Hall, the Independent Tailors' Union of San Francisco placed itself on record as basing itself on the class struggle. While so many have been discussing the Chicago Manifesto, burning midnight oil, and wasting good, red ink, in order to send a delegation from the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, with iron-clad instructions for the purpose of making an iron-clad constitution, which the working class were to be fitted into, by all kinds of slicing off here and padding up there, we, Socialists of the Tailors' Union, were making things red hot for the advocates of the American Federation of Labor brand of Citizen Allianceism.

The enemy had exhausted its low order of animal cunning in Gerrymandering, so as to have a meeting where they would be most favorably backed up. The delegate meeting voted by a vote of twenty-nine against and sixteen to leave it to a referendum of the shop meetings, but as the helpers are not compelled to attend these meetings, and as most of the men who exploit helpers are anti-class struggle, they called for a special meeting where the helpers as well as their masters are compelled to attend.

Press Committee.

BUSINESS DEPARTMENT NOTES.

Two hundred and fifty-eight subscriptions to the Weekly People were secured during the week ending Saturday, May 20.

Five or more subs were received as follows:

Charles Pierson, Chicago, Ill., 32; Fred Brown, Cleveland, Ohio, 10; G. A. Jennings, E. St. Louis, Ill., 10; John Ernst, St. Louis, Mo., 15; Section Everett, Mass., 8; Carl Oberhren, Milwaukee, Wis., 8; Thirty-fourth A. D., New York, 7; Wm. Jurgens, Cananea, Sonora, Mex., 6; A. Rutstien, Yonkers, N. Y., 5; H. H. Santee, New York, 5; L. C. Haller, Los Angeles, Cal., 5.

Prépaid sub cards amounting to four dollars were sold.

Now that the summer is here and canvassing is thereby rendered easy, this week's record should be doubled. It is too small.

LABOR NEWS NOTES.

Look at the way the ammunition is going out to our camps.

Comrade Leach, of Phoenix, Ariz., gets thirty-five "Burning Question of Trades Unionism," and other pamphlets, making a total of \$8.00 worth. Buffalo, New York, bought 100 "What Means This Strike?", and an equal number of other pamphlets. The Thirty-fourth Assembly District, New York, bought 165 assorted pamphlets, and a copy of "The Paris Commune."

The Western Federation of Miners took 500 copies of "John Mitchell Exposed," by Robert Randell, and fifty copies were sent to Section Salt Lake City.

"It is sophistry to say that there are antagonistic interests between the capitalist class and the working class." And have not the master tailors spent their last cent in times of yore and ever become bankrupts, in order to prove this?

They have a different way of proving this now. The Citizens' Alliance, like the American Federation of Labor is cornerstone on this (great) idea, which has come from the clouds like manna.

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